/187 cont./

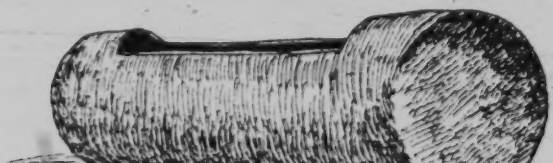
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú
276 or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú
• [796] emapú). In the dabacuris /religious celebrations/ the use of to-
[178] bacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking
273 means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which
415 means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 142 291 302 516 • 796

/Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

142 291 276 301 302 516 796

Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

/321 cont./

175
346
778

/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

[796]
[237]
[301]

"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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[353]
[532]

This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
532

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Cururú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wãx-tĩ! As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.

• 796 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),
✱ [192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wãx-tĩ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

782
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[192]
[534]

/336 cont./
Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsã, dances of Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

[123]
[124]
[177]
[869]

Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115]

The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/337/

782 with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones,
• 796 it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect
[115] that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken individual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out: it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃ (43).

[115]

43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, Mɨ̃rɨ̃ (or Mɨ̃nɨ, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the Mɨ̃rɨ̃ is maxsɨ̃, people. In the plural it becomes Mɨ̃rɨ̃á; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

* [192] [193]

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

/337 cont./

796 782 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.

595 881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the MĩrĨ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] [124] [115] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled) of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/338 cont./

• 796
[123]
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*[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

[126]

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[533]
[535]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

[755]

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

• 796
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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1)), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

796 7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compul-
535 sory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca.
[115] The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the
[126] Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

*192 The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same
796 tuxáua:
535 a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurſ-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ſ-khãra duhurſ kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrſ maxsã duhurſ kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrſ kãrſ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrſ), when they sleep (kãrſ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrſ kãrſ:-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

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1c -- Sahãri kãrĩ: boxtá-ri (sleeping column of the guests); 2c -- Baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri (column for starting the dancing); 3c -- Do'ákaro-ká boxtá-ri (column of the cooking); a -- Bõxkõrá duhurĩ ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the old ones); b -- Bayá ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá or dance master); c -- Bayári wetamõgõ ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá's helper); d, e, f, g -- Wĩ'khãra duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the occupants of the maloca); d', e', f', g' -- Samãrĩ maxsã duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the guests); i -- Kaxpí-tõ (pot of caapí); j -- Kaxpí tõamĩ duhiri ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the one who distributes the caapí); l -- rede /hammock/ of the tuxáua.

/341/

192 535 796 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri; because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] [622] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 [628] The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with this proposal. [178] Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

• 796 /341 cont./
[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ɨ'rɛ̃ poosé, they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé [192] are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ̃-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mɛ̃rɛ̃ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã̄ poosé).

[273] In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in [115]

/342 cont./

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[123]

/footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

[534]

the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

[115]

48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahĩ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

*[192]

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ẽẽẽ... (it is what is called oá:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

[562]

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/342 cont./

The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

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The women and children who have arrived gather at the back, where those of the maloca are already.

[622]

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one

[576]

in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

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[576]
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[191]

Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] [273] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

[123]

49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirĩ.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã̃ poári axkã́-ro).

*[192] [302] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/344 cont./

• 796 vice versa (50).

[574] [123] [126] [302] [562]

50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush: sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõó wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

*[192]

[301] [554]

The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] *[192] 796 535

When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a)); it is a sign that the dances

796
535 /344 cont./
are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c)).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him: then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2)).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411] *[192] 1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 l));

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

*[192] /345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

[534] [237] Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahĩ i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m)).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

/345 cont./

• 796 535 *[192] Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533] *[192] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

> 52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of yohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2)).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it [115] means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Pira-tapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

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• 796 535 [273] [562] with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand, they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they return to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

* [192] [622] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53),

> 53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the snappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

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796 535 *[192] the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

*[192] [123] [124]

54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

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55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b)), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1)).

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Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

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796 831 It is also during these intervals that amorous scenes occur, in broad daylight, perhaps in a hidden corner or not, and more freely at night (56),

56. It follows from the information obtained that the rendezvous must take place outside the maloca (cf. VII-5, c). Koch Grünberg saw that the couples indeed went out together, and he was told clearly for what purpose (Zwei Iahre, 372). It is, however, more common for the men to leave by the main door and the women by the back one, according to a previous understanding, and for them to meet outside. Some of the young men who have attended the Mission schools revealed the licentiousness of the native feasts.

[115] *[192] It will be enough to cite the following episode narrated by Patrícia Vasconcelos. On the Macú River, which empties near Teresita (Colombian bank of the river Papuri) there was a maloca of the Desana where feasts took place with so many immoralities that during one of these orgies the earth opened up and swallowed the maloca and the dancers, "Bisíu bahwápõ baá-peokoápõ, Bisíu /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ appeared and devoured everything." On the following day songs and dance music could be heard at the spot of the vanished maloca, a spot that can still be seen today, marked by a depression in the ground. At present (1955) Patrícia's sister-in-law lives near there.

and they can also go outside the maloca.

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• 796 535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] [534] [533] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, c (3c)). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 273 *[192] [533] About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí. At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Caruru-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon,

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/348 cont./

796 273 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpí, and soon after also caxirí, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaí-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpí will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a stick, a snake, /349/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls down. The inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpí was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmũ who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

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In observing such a ritual, the kaxpí is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpí, one begins with the weakest one.

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Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2)) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

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59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

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At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

4: Silva--527 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

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/350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

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Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wɨx-tʃye baxsá detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũã, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

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796 538 [123] At the various times that we had the opportunity to attend these feasts, we did not see any initial ceremony. Each one seated in front of his antagonist, at a distance of a meter perhaps, they start to narrate in a singing tone accompanied by broad gestures and alternately with the right and the left arm. They unravel the legends of the origin of the world and of the tribes, as well as the exploits of their ancestors. They speak alternately and sometimes also simultaneously, breaking off only take a breath and perhaps, at a given time, to recall some further episode. The event told by his competitor will sometimes serve to remind him of another episode. So it seems to us.

If, by any chance, they carry to him the cuia of caxirí, he receives it without looking; he will keep it in his hand until he finishes the episode that he is narrating, and then he will swallow it rapidly, returning it empty to the one who brought it, and who remained patiently waiting.

It seems to be a matter of a true challenge. A competition of oratory and also of time, of rapidity of locution, of physical or, better, pulmonary endurance. During all this time they do not concern themselves about the audience, though there may perhaps be an indiscreet white who has come closer to observe better. At a certain point, however, /351/ one of the old men of the maloca intervenes and interrupts one of the narrators (we do not know whether he does it only to one of another tribe or maloca who came for the poosé, as in the case that we had a chance to observe), directing some words to him in a rapid dialogue. They informed us that it is the practice, and it is a thanks for his activity. But soon afterwards the competition proceeds with the same rhythm and intonation.

276 796 538 The Rite of the Cigar. The principal act of the Legendary Commemorations is the Rite of the Cigar, which takes place around 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and which marks, moreover, the official ending of the poosé. Two enormous cigars, each tied to its fork (VI 2, b (5)), starting with the tuxaua and one of the Kõmũã, will pass simultaneously from mouth to mouth,

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextĩ, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are care-
576 fully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7)). The guest tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũã who prepared the kaxpĩ puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

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796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'sĩro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
[535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirĩ is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

796 4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turĩ
574 (VI 5, a (4a)), lighted, because it is already dark. His companions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

524 5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
796 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
574 mouth: "uãõ... uãõ... " They enter the maloca, and those who are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

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796 524 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads (61).

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61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man, who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see VII - 3, c (3c)): pêru wáśtya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

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Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

*192 796 534 778 [115]

According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the sacred instruments, or mĩrĩá (juruparís) (62),

> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩrĩá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c)), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

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796 534 778 192 562 858 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the landing pla[illegible] It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.

/354/ The women and children who came to the feast, barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

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63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 534 778 562 688 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women, submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

593 278 192 The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ. Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

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They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take the offering, as was described above, from the landing place to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate. They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist, the waxsó-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2)), sounding the instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down, and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The shape of the instrument (65),

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> 65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsó-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsó, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a). Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kúay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kóay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kóay.

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the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩrĩã, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

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Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 562 796 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The [192] instrument for this flagellation is the adabĩ, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] [178]

66. Among the Wanĩna and Kubewana the adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubéwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

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291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

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105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are wom exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
• 796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)
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> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in
796 the feasts of Wãx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrákurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

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121 everywhere narcotics and excitants, stimulants and vision-producing drugs are valued for their ritual effects.

No common psychological pattern, to be sure, encompasses the area. Yet the Cubeo ritual pattern, with its exaltation of intoxication and of frenzied emotional experience, is far from uncommon in the tropical forest. In religion the Amazon Basin is a region of the shaman and of minor cults rather than of priests and of the worship of important deities. Tropical forest religion is small in scale, a feature that is parallel to and assuredly related to the decentralization of social life.

Compared with the Andes, tropical forest communities by and large are small. In many regions community size is unduly small because of severe population decline since white contact. In the Northwest Amazon, the subarea of the Cubeo, the multifamily single house is the common residence. The sense of family and of kinship are very strong, making of religion and ritual largely domestic affairs, with cults of the dead and initiation rites of outstanding importance. Considering the importance of crops, horticultural ritual is strikingly undeveloped. Here we can point to a fruitful field for the study of the commonly accepted functionalist doctrine that magic and religious ritual tend to surround areas of uncertainty such as farming. [241] In the case of the Cubeo one can state with confidence that the lack [796] of rite in farming is related to the strongly secular position of the [462] women as horticulturists and not to the lack of hazard in farming. Manioc cultivation is no less uncertain than yam cultivation in the Trobriand Islands. Uncertainty, after all, is not necessarily an objective condition. Existence is uncertain for all peoples and each society has the choice of underscoring those areas of life where it believes the fears and uncertainties to lie. Since the tropical forest is one of the major world areas of the *couvade*, the rites by which the father plays a part in parturition, it might seem as though it were the fate of the newborn infant more than the fate of the crops that is at the heart of their concern.

There is the fundamental question of the relation of the tropical forest to the "high" cultures of South and of Central America. On this there is still not much to say. Yet the problem of relationship cannot be ignored. One cannot divide lowland and highland into totally distinct and unrelated worlds. The archeology of the lower Amazon calls attention to cultural developments either related to or parallel to the marginal areas of the Andes. Highland and lowland share many traits such as maize, chicha, coca, textiles, and complex basketry. The jaguar "cult" of the Northwest Amazon may well be

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177 [171] the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character [342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the [712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com- [567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. [596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu- [553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg- [614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are [796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The [773] Cubeo culture hero *Kówai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for [197] jaguar and for shaman, *yaví*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans. [765] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the complex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 197 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of culture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwé* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house
[346] form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
291 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper
182 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

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[361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

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(123)

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504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be allowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

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[417]
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833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. (514)
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

THE MALOCA

342
The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [796]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [764]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [252]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [32]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza [517]
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

342
When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 622
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had [114]
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com-
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 •796 [251] [417] [614] [237] After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upañeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa* are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior. Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is accorded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a ceremony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

As between men and women, seniority has a different significance, because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of ceremony women take precedence according to the order of precedence of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substitute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother. She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Ajarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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534 women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekûpwänwa* to
[788] the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears
[793] about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she
[828] dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is
[754] felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 The *Bekûpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of
● 796 palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahûkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahûdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahûkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahûkûdjawû*.

The *Bahûkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive sib cult.

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, ascended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional five were used, *Bwũ*, *Onpwénda kũdjũwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwũ* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kũdjũwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

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769 796 [614] taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him [222] [857] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door. [273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] [276] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwíi* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwíi* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*harámu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haraíhume* (*haraí*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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pared. Other men picked up the horns and danced. The whipping could not begin before dark and it was evident that the man preparing the switch was working slowly so as not to finish too soon. The deliberation of his movements added to the apprehension of the boys. As the last rays of light in the doorway faded, the boys suddenly leaped from the bench and bolted out of the house. The man who was preparing the whip ran to the doorway and shouted at them to come back. All but one returned. The boy who did not return was a fatherless orphan and a maverick who did not share foraged food with his age mates.

The boys took their seats again and the men resumed dancing with the ancestor horns. They danced until the house was pitch black. A taper was lighted and *Bwü*, represented by the senior member of the initiating group, stepped forward. He dragged the first boy to

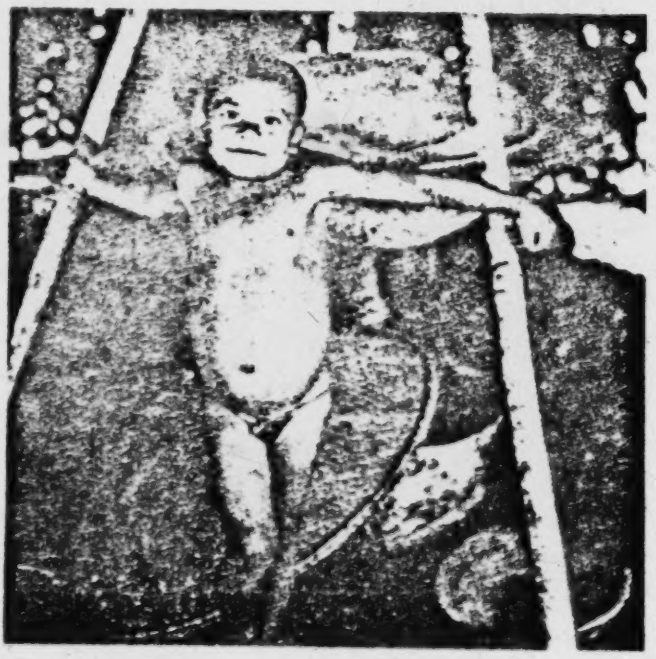

Fig. 9. *Bahúkiwa* boy.

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796 be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwü*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwü* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

[534] Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwü* but *Onpwénda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. When I mentioned
[182] this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made
[614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahúkiwa* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwü* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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could be struck he had bolted and had to be literally dragged back. The first blow reduced him to such a state of trembling and hysterical sobbing that I thought he would collapse. He could not swallow the chicha. The men paid no attention to the boy's terror and when he returned finally to the bench, still sobbing, his companions ignored him.[6] The first boy was by this time enjoying himself immensely.

The third initiate was the son of the headman, a boy who was the leader of his play pack. This lad strode confidently forward and raised his arms above his head without command. He faced his age mates, smiled at them, and took the blows without flinching. The next boy faced the ordeal with equal composure. The men waited for the orphan boy to return. When he did not they sent the youngsters to bring him, but they returned very quickly to say that he had run away.

There now remained two very young boys to be whipped. These were treated in a sense as junior initiates, old enough to know the secrets of the *Bekûpwānuu* but too tender to be whipped very hard. The senior initiator who had begun to whip with *Buũ* was said to have a very hard blow, because of having absorbed the strength of *Buũ* in his arm. He therefore turned the whipping over to his younger brother, who used *Onpwénda*. This man, who was unmarried and therefore closer in spirit to the age group being initiated, assumed a jesting manner. He dragged a little boy forcefully to the center but in a playful manner. He measured his blow carefully, heavy enough for the child to know he had been through the ordeal but without raising a welt. The two blows were spaced farther away from the genital region because the children were too young to receive sexual power from the ancestors yet. The gentle blows meant that growth would still be gradual. At puberty, I was told, a boy receives the full hard blows of *Buũ*. However, since some precocity is welcomed, the full blows, as on this occasion, may precede puberty by some years.

After all the youngsters had been whipped and were seated together on the guest bench drinking chicha, the ancestors, who had been dancing inside the house, now danced about them several times in a close circle, finally leaving in single file through the door. They circled the house on the outside and returned to the front plaza. When they stopped playing, the youngsters rose from their bench and went outside to watch as the men hid the horns in a clump of bushes nearby. Then all cut swatches of leaves and ran through the

[6] It is hardly a disgrace for a young boy to weep. When young adults, young married men, are injured in a drunken brawl, they will also weep freely.

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house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihí* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a great quantity of chicha and *mihí*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One 769
man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 796
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the 178
loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a sperial whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 789
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned 856
bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective dur- [515]
ing the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplemen- [534]
tary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is [824]
to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also [515]
favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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574 576 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good 574 576 273 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 576 182 796 [765] [831] This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately manner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by subsidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the [276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyd* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaibo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyd* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

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pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyd* form.

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédde* (pulse) and *umémde* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkü* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhd*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yuvi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórü* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

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796 The second most important area in which polarity-complementarity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

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model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos. What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[3] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit relationship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover, though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary complement to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the sociocultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[3] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

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partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities, the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.

[See p. 62A]

/p. 70-B/

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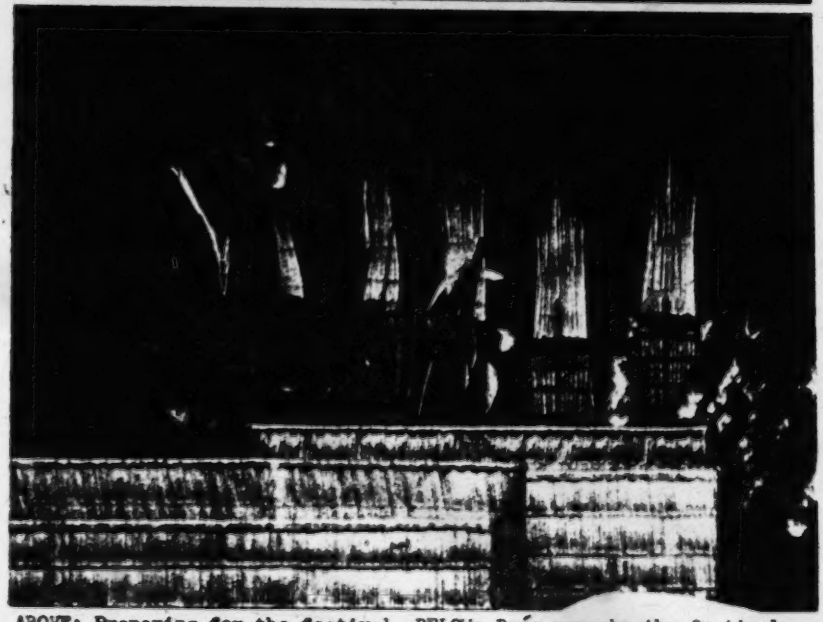

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

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226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of
796 saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,
533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance,
534 sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of relaxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon be-
[184] came imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

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can produce a most haunting tune. This tiny flute, the three-holed *sihoo*, is more often played outdoors than inside the house. Its clear rippling notes mingle with the forest calls, perhaps imitating a bird drawn closer and closer to the Indian hunter. The deer-bone flute, in contrast, has a harsh, piercing, eerie sound. It is made from a deer's tibia and three holes are drilled into the bone with a *capybara's* tooth. A little slit is cut into the head of the deer-bone, down which the man blows. Small lumps of beeswax are melted into the apexes and shrill notes come flowing out – bizarre perhaps, but melodious. This instrument is generally heard during the *chicha* ceremonies between the dances. The tortoise shell, too, is an instrument which has a weird, almost hypnotic tone. It is played by a man who squats on the ground with the shell gripped under the knee between thigh and calf muscles. Rapidly he rubs, almost jerks, the palm of his hand over the beeswax-coated head of the shell. Sometimes two men will play two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time, and the continuous reverberation of the *goos*, as the tortoise shells are known, together with the syncopation of the pan-pipes produces an amazing effect. The high muffled tones of the *goos* echo round the *maloca*, driving the Indian's coca-bemused senses into a semi-hypnotic trance. To us this was not an unpleasant sensation and on listening closer we could pick out what was in fact a highly sophisticated rhythm. Each panpipe entered just off beat in an exciting, almost modernistic manner, more reminiscent of a modern jazz quartet than four primeval instruments of the Amazon.

Our recording equipment intrigued the Indians – those small boxes with wheels which turned, lengths of 'string' with weird metal objects on the end, held close to their faces or hung from the ridge poles of their *malocas*. It was all beyond their comprehension. At first they were frightened but once they had listened to their own voices and music, they were astounded and could not wait to hear more. We all too soon found ourselves using as much of our precious battery power to play back as we did to record. Sometimes they were intrigued by Western music – Beethoven piano concertos, Brahms and Gershwin had little effect, but the Bach double violin concerto drew many eager faces, a Haydn trumpet concerto brought smiles of approval and on hearing the Commendatore's deep voice in the last act of *Don Giovanni* the whole *maloca* drew near in wonder. Perhaps this really was the white man's shaman.

We waited four days at Bréo's while the women brought in baskets and baskets of manioc to prepare for *chicha*, and the men pounded coca leaves incessantly. During this time the *maloca* filled with families who had travelled by canoe from their distant forest homes along the winding river courses. Some had already been warned by messengers of the coming festival to celebrate the manioc harvest, but on the afternoon before it started Bréo left for a high knoll of ground, and stood blowing a clay horn – perhaps to warn

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796 534 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 574 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 273 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 [787] In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they consulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torchwood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 796 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

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A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

[see p. 78-A]

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diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet.

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder.

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals.

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo

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Tukano profile and festival head-dress. [see p. 78-B]

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [294] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her.

The manioc dance continued through the night, but with the approach of dawn the younger members became impatient for a change of rhythm. To them such festivals were an opportunity for amusement, heavy drinking bouts and the possibility of finding a wife. One or two started to play on their panpipes, they were joined by others and soon the whole *maloca* became alive with young couples and trios weaving happily across the floor, in between the posts and along the sides of the house. Their young bodies gliding through the darkness, their feet delicately stamping the time on the ground, they seemed completely lost in the lovely panpipe tunes of the *chiruru*, the Tukano courtship dance. All too soon the thuds of the bamboo staves were heard and the elders again took control.

Throughout the entire festival the dominating figure was the shaman. Existing as he does in complete detachment from the rest, he sat alone, occasionally taking snuff from his snail-shell box. It was he who influenced the festival which, without him, would not take place. Every few hours he summoned the elders about him and as coca was passed round the mysterious chanting began. No one would tell us what was being recited, we could only gather that the tribal ancestors were being consulted and evil spirits exorcized. They did not like us to record this part of the ceremony, for quite understandably they believed we might take away their magic power.

Day and night the people danced, their plumed bodies glistening with sweat, caught in the beams of the sun or the dull glow of the torch-wood. There was continual sound – of panpipes, of cane staves, nutshell rattles and people's voices. Gradually the *chicha* canoes were drained. Gallons of the liquid had been consumed and the men had to rid themselves of their hangovers. Nonchalantly they poured boiled green-pepper juice down their nostrils from funnels made of leaves. With grunts and snorts they cleared their heads and staggered down to the river to bathe. Inside the *maloca* those that remained were asleep; many of the women had already left for the

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796 *chagra* and the visiting families began to leave. They moved quietly in single file down to their canoes, unleashed them and paddled away. Life returned to normal. The plumages stood in the sand, shimmering in the sun, before Bréo meticulously packed them away, and with them remained the memory of the dancing figures, resplendent as birds of paradise.

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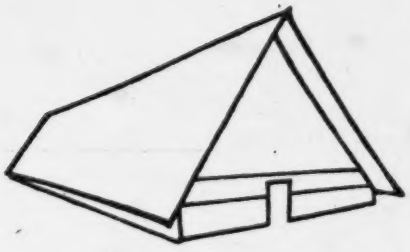

000 ABOVE LEFT: *An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth.* ABOVE RIGHT: *Boy playing panpipes.* BELOW: *A headman lights a torch of beeswax.* [see p. 82-A]

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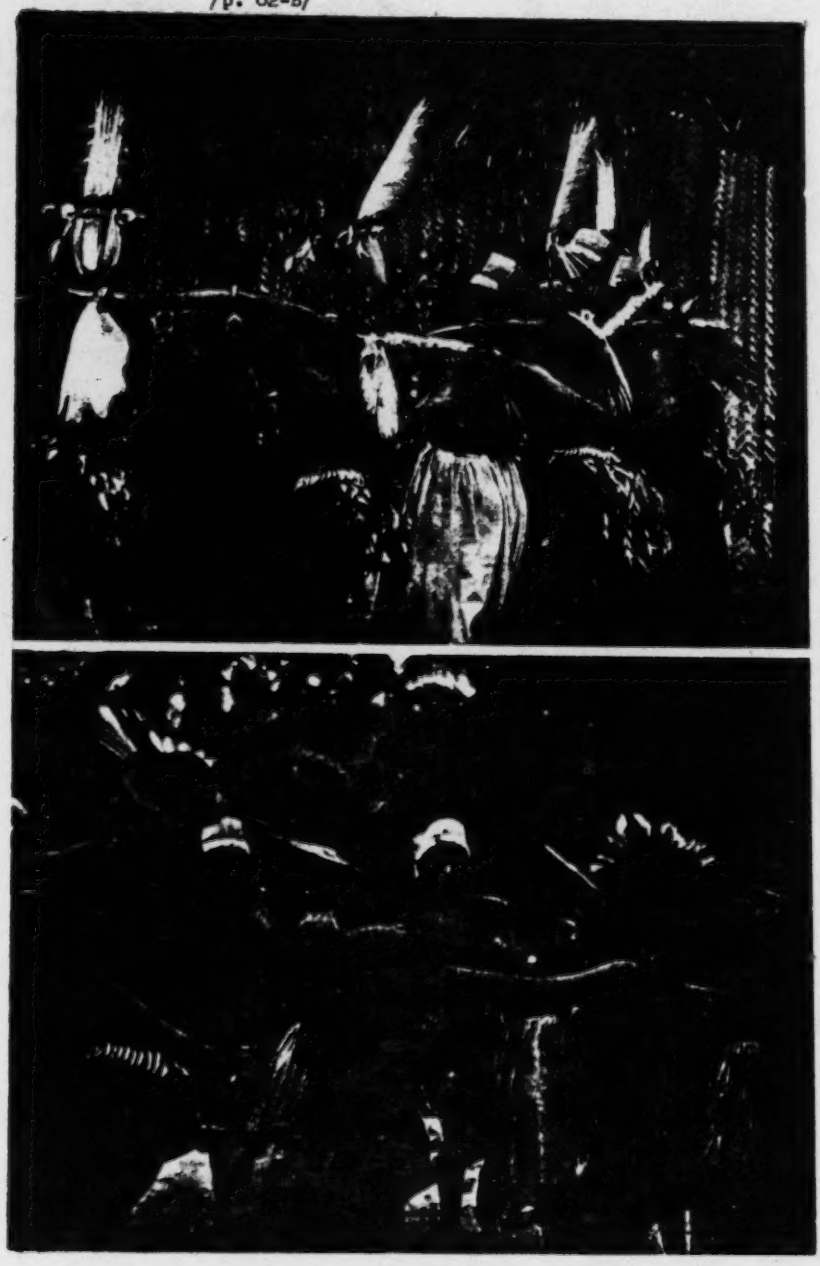

ABOVE AND BELOW: Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.